

JEWISH OBSERVER AND MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

Vol. X, No. 33

AUGUST 18, 1961

Ninepence

ELECTION WITHOUT A VICTOR

COLD COMFORT FOR MAPAI — AND THE LIBERALS:
BATTLE STARTS OVER COALITION TERMS

“Disaster for Israel” — DAVID BEN-GURION

And now a new struggle
looms in the Histadrut,
with developing
opposition to Mapai from
left and right — full story
starts on page 3



COMMENT

FACING REALITY

The only certain thing the elections have shown is the degree of the country's undiminished support for Ben-Gurion and to what extent there existed a real desire for an alternative leadership—whether Liberal or Herut. In itself, this changes very little. The country faces the same problems now, after the election, as it had to face before and, as our report on the election results shows, it will have to do so with much the same internal preoccupations which existed prior to the elections.

For, unless powerful influences make themselves felt from outside the country, it appears inevitable that we shall witness another round of the personal and party conflicts which have disfigured Israel's political life for many months past. Israel has never had greater need for statesmen rather than for politicians, and she needs them in all parties, whether in government or in opposition. For, as the report from Jerusalem explains, the opposition to Mapai is determined to exact a price for its participation in the next coalition which Mapai will not pay. Quite irrespective of the merits of the case, the country is faced with a situation which threatens to involve it in political deadlock which may continue for months and is likely to result in another election—possibly before very much longer.

* * *

This may leave the country without an effective government during the coming five months, a period which may well see some of the most critical situations in international affairs and which may also involve Israel herself at the United Nations. As things are now, the possible coalition partners seem set to see Mapai stew in its own juice and sacrifice Mr. Ben-Gurion to their demands, rather than face the dangers of the months ahead with a united and determined government—and no one can appreciate these dangers better than the principal adviser of the Liberal Party, Dr. Nahum Goldmann. He has said so repeatedly at his meetings sponsored by the Liberals.

But not only the parties who are trying to organise a political boycott of Mr. Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister need to be awakened to the harsh realities of the days that lie ahead. There is also, inside the ruling Mapai Party, a straining at the leash, as our correspondents report. It appears to be taken for granted by all concerned that, as soon as the dust of the election

has settled, the internal battles which the election interrupted will be resumed. The old guard is said to be preparing to settle accounts and the so-called Lavon Affair will be continued from the point where it had left off.

* * *

One can only hope and pray that wiser counsel will prevail and that Dr. Goldmann for one—and perhaps other notable leaders of world Jewry—will impress on those Israeli leaders whose ear they have, the extreme unwise of such a course. It is not only that Israel will require all her efforts during the next three years before the cessation of German reparations in order to re-balance her economy without this German aid, but that she will, within a matter of weeks, face her most difficult tests at the United Nations. Moreover, the revolutionary changes in the United Arab Republic, the dangerous uncertainties in the Persian Gulf, the new crisis in North Africa following the assassination of Salah Ben Youssef and the rapid spread of Soviet influence through the Arabian Middle East—all affect Israel and require decision and action which only a strong government can take. A makeshift administration could be disastrous under such circumstances. But there seems to be little realisation of this in most party circles, preoccupied with their own partisan attitudes on the home front and unable to see beyond the nearest horizon.

* * *

And yet, beyond this discouraging prospect on the party front, Israel presents a picture that ought to gladden the heart of the observer. The country is working harder, producing more, entering new industrial and electronic worlds and showing the Africans and the West what she can do when she is unhampered by restrictions or international obstacles. Nothing expresses this better than the report just issued by the International Cotton Advisory Committee on its Tokio meeting. This shows that Israel is not only leading the world in the yield of her cotton crop (928 pounds per acre), but that this is more than double that of the United States and almost double that of Egypt (532 pounds per acre). It is this that is more typical of the country than the political fracas. And the next weeks will have to show which forces will come out on top—the realisation of the need for constructive action in the international and economic fields based on the tremendous achievements of the people, or the destructive urge to settle political scores and so make it impossible to form a workable and united government. The people have spoken, but will their leaders listen to them?

AFTERMATH

EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT IN JEOPARDY

MEANING OF ISRAEL'S ELECTION RESULTS

from Jon Kimche

Jerusalem, Wednesday :

By ten o'clock on Wednesday morning the parties had their answer. They had been far more uncertain and worried about the outcome than they had admitted. And now the electorate had spoken. What had it said? In effect, it had exercised a check on all parties. It had expressed a measure of dissatisfaction with Mapai—in rather stronger terms than Mapai's leaders had expected, but not quite as strong as some of them had feared.

It gave some encouragement to the Liberals—but not too much. It did not accept the Liberal claim that the new party represented an effective alternative to Mapai as yet. Something more than a swing of four per cent in the votes would be required for such a demonstration of support for the Liberal contention.

For the rest, the loyalists of Herut, Mapam and Ahdut Avoda turned out in strength, but without carrying with them any of the ever increasing uncommitted and floating vote.

All disappointed : All the parties are, in fact, secretly disappointed with the



ONLY HALF THE BATTLE DONE
Mapai stalwarts Josephthal, Aranne and Ben-Gurion—more hard fighting ahead

result of the election. It has given none of them what they had hoped for, and it has greatly complicated the future for most of them. One has to judge the party attitudes, not by the rationalised and reassuring comments of the morning after, but by their privately expressed hopes of the evening before the votes were cast.

Mapai thought they might even gain a seat and expected to lose two at the most. They lost five (but still have two more than the 40 seats they won in the 1955 election). The Liberals thought they might get 20, or even 22, and expected to get rather more than 18. They may just manage to hold on to their 17 when the soldiers' vote is counted and the proportional representation system applied. Mapam and Ahdut Avoda hoped to slice off a substantial lump of discontented Mapai votes, but managed only to scrape a little off the disgruntled fringe of the Mapai vote. Mapam's and the communists' increased poll was mainly due to the swing in the Arab vote to these two parties.

Herut fought a forceful but responsible campaign without mud-slinging and did reap some reward. But the spotlight was on the Liberal challenge. The question to be settled now is whether this challenge has made its impact. What in effect has happened? Has it reduced the towering stature of Ben-Gurion?

No convincing alternative : The main thing about this election result is its

negative character. Judging from all available evidence it was not a vote of no-confidence in Ben-Gurion, but it was also far from being an unqualified vote of confidence. It was, rather, a clear expression of the feeling of the electorate that it could not see a convincing alternative to the Ben-Gurion regime—not Beigin, nor Goldmann, nor Allon. And even if the votes of all three were combined, they would still fail to equal the votes cast for Ben-Gurion.

The elections have therefore decided

JEWISH OBSERVER AND MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

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HOW THE VOTING WENT

With some adjustments still to be made for the soldiers' vote and the usual re-allocations made under the proportional representation system, the final result of the Israel General Election was broadly as follows:

Mapai	... 42 seats	34.4 per cent
Herut	17 "	13.4 "
National Religious	12 "	9.9 "
Aguda and Poalei Aguda	7 "	5.8 "
Mapam	9 "	7.7 "
Ahdut Avoda	7 "	6.4 "
Liberals	17 "	13.6 "
Communists	5 "	4.3 "
Mapai Arabs	4 "	—

These percentages will be slightly altered in the final analysis, but it is unlikely that there will be any changes in the allocation of seats.

[Previous election results—p. 12]



AGUDA'S RABBIS LORINCZ AND LEVIN

Refugees, Persian Gulf, North Africa, arms race—what sort of a policy?

very little. Certainly nothing fundamental. The increase in the Liberal poll—giving the combined Progressive and General Zionist parties three more seats than they jointly held in the last Knesset, but one less than they won in the 1955 election—was essentially a protest vote. This and the rest of the voting pattern undoubtedly constitute a warning signal to Mapai not to ignore the mood of the country. But not only to Mapai. Already the parties are preparing to jockey for position in a way that may quickly change the voters' inclination.

The opposition parties look like going all out to extract the maximum concessions from Mapai before they will join a new coalition. They are making demands, however, which Mapai is not likely to accept. But this is only one of the problems, and not the most serious, which now faces Ben-Gurion. He has three distinct difficulties.

Liberal demands: Those concerned with the formation of the government come first. Ahdut Avoda say they will not join a government led by Ben-Gurion. The Liberals demand one of the key positions in the Defence Ministry and in the Treasury, and insist that Mapai should not be a majority in the Cabinet. Mapam is also making demands and the religious parties will see to it that they, too, get their share.

The possibility of Ben-Gurion's inability to re-form a viable coalition is therefore seriously considered. This deadlock could only be resolved by a further appeal to the electorate on the straight issue of changing the electoral system and making possible a strong government.

Hardly less serious is the prospect of

the renewed outbreak of the internal conflict in Mapai. It has now been further complicated by the opposition of the kibbutzim to Ben-Gurion and to the Peres-Dayan group. The attack on this group, which includes Eban and Josephthal in the eyes of the attackers, may well divide the party even more than before the election—and the election results are said to have encouraged the old guard and the supporters of Lavon.

Front with Herut? But the biggest clash is expected to take place inside the Histadrut where Mapam and Ahdut Avoda are preparing to break the narrow

Mapai majority of 52 per cent. Quite apart from what happens in the governmental negotiations, the most dangerous threat to Mapai's position will come from this quarter. Lavon is said to be preparing his own Histadrut list so as to split the Mapai support. The Liberal Party group in the Histadrut has started talks with the Herut group, with a view to forming a common front. This might easily hold the balance of power in such a conflict.

The political outlook for Mapai has probably never been quite so serious, and it is not only Mapai which is affected. This state of affairs will impose a standstill on the most important governmental decisions (unless Ben-Gurion takes them on his own account) at a time when the country cannot afford it. The electors have had their say, but the matter is now in the hands of the leaders—not only of the parties, but also of the Histadrut group. They have a great and grave responsibility.

Commenting on the results on Wednesday morning, Ben-Gurion said that, as far as Mapai was concerned, it did not matter, but for the country the outcome of the election was a disaster because it would make effective government virtually impossible. Beigin said that he was satisfied. The Liberal balloon had been pricked, he said.

Moshe Kol, for the Liberals, expressed the view that this was the hour of reckoning for Mapai. If Mapai faced up to this, it might yet have good results. But the Liberals were far from satisfied with the result, he added.



MAPAI'S PERES AND SHITRETT
Liberals, Lavon, Histadrut, kibbutzim—what hope of a detente?

ARAB WORLD

WHO KILLED BEN YOUSSEF?

APPOINTMENT WITH DEATH IN FRANKFURT

For six years, Salah Ben Youssef had lived in Cairo, an exile from his native Tunisia, which he left in 1955 after being expelled by Bourguiba supporters from the ruling Neo-Destour Party, in which he had been a Minister.

From his Cairo villa, provided by a sympathetic President Nasser, Ben Youssef kept up a campaign of vilification against Bourguiba, whom he accused of betraying Tunisian nationalism. In 1957, a Tunisian court sentenced him to death *in absentia* on charges of plotting Bourguiba's death. One year later, Tunisia pulled out of the Arab League and broke diplomatic relations with Cairo in protest against the protection afforded him by the U.A.R. Government.

Over the next four years—until, in fact, the Bizerta incident of last month—relations between Tunis and Cairo continued cold, if not hostile. President Nasser continued to afford Ben Youssef his support; Bourguiba continued to denounce Nasser's harbouring of a wanted Tunisian criminal.

A message from friends: With the Bizerta incident and Bourguiba's sudden appeal for Arab support, Cairo passed through one of the 24-hour policy convulsions to which it is prone. At the end of it, Bourguiba emerged as a national Arab hero.

Ben Youssef, then receiving medical attention for an ailment in Wiesbaden, felt a cold wind of change from the direction of Cairo, but decided to stay where he was until he heard further from his friends. Last Saturday came a call he had been expecting. He was to meet them later that day in a Frankfurt hotel.

With his wife, he travelled to Frankfurt and, while Mrs. Ben Youssef went shopping, he joined two men he appeared to know and went to a room taken by one of them. Half an hour later, the men left the hotel, but said they would be back. Three hours later, when a porter entered the room, Salah Ben Youssef was found in a blood-stained armchair gasping for breath, a bullet hole in the back of his head. He died without regaining consciousness.



SAUDI ARABIA'S SAUD AND JORDAN'S HUSSEIN
A few crumbs of comfort for Kuwait—and something to digest for Baghdad

"GET RID OF HASSOUNA" DEMAND

IRAQ READY TO LEAVE THE LEAGUE

It seems possible that the Arab League is to gain its newest member, Kuwait, at the expense of one of its oldest, Iraq. In a memorandum to League states last week protesting against the acceptance of Kuwait and recognition of its independence, the Iraqi Government declared that it was "very difficult for Iraq to serve Arab causes within the framework of the Arab League."

The memorandum, signed by Kassem, roundly condemned Abdel Khalek Hassouna, secretary-general of the League, drawing attention to his "strange enthusiasm" and "contacts" in a dispute in which he was duty-bound to be neutral. League affairs, suggested Iraq, should be entrusted to people sincerely devoted to Arab interests.

It called on League member states to abrogate the decision to admit Kuwait to the League, to make endeavours for the abrogation of the Anglo-Kuwaiti agreement of June 19, "which has turned Kuwait into a British base," and to appoint a new secretary-general.

September 1 commitment: It is clear that the League, led by the U.A.R., will do none of these things and, consequently,

it is hard to see how the Iraqis can continue to remain within the Arab League without losing face, both at home and abroad.

Meanwhile, the League itself is agonizedly striving to save face. After a meeting with the Ruler of Kuwait on Saturday evening, Hassouna more or less committed the League to putting in an Arab replacement force for the British by September 1. The U.A.R. was ready to provide nearly all the men necessary, but the Ruler was insistent that the force should be widely representative of Arab League membership.

Hassouna promised him that this would be the case and is now anxiously pressing the Arab states for at least nominal contingents to join the force, which will be headed by an Egyptian general. The Ruler of Kuwait, although he has formally told the British that he will no longer require their services once the Arab force has arrived, has taken the wise precaution of requesting that withdrawal of British troops be delayed for the time being.

There are already doubts as to whether Jordan will make troops available. In a statement which has not been lost on Baghdad, the Jordanian Ambassador there said on Sunday—the day after Hassouna's visit to Kuwait—that relations between his country and Iraq had never been better. The Jordanians, in fact, have gone out of their way to say nothing during recent weeks, which could be con-

strued as criticism of General Kassem.

Despite Hussein's warmer attitude to Nasser, there is nothing to suggest that the Jordanian monarch has come to trust him. He prefers, for the time being, to balance precariously between Baghdad and Cairo.

KASSEM'S TWELVE POINTS FOR I.P.C.

AMERICAN HEADS 20-MAN NEGOTIATING TEAM

When the negotiations between the Iraq Petroleum Company and the Iraqi Government resume in Baghdad on August 24, after an interruption of five months, the company will be represented by one of the biggest delegations ever to be entrusted with the task of concluding an agreement between a commercial concern and a foreign government.

The twenty-member team, representative of the major shareholders in I.P.C. and its affiliates, will be headed by Mr. Fisher of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. With the exception of the chief British negotiator, Mr. Herridge, the I.P.C. team will be completely different from that which failed to reach agreement with the Iraqi Government in previous talks.

There is no indication that their task will be any easier than that which faced their predecessors. There are twelve items on the agenda for discussion and almost every one of them presents a stumbling block to an amicable settlement. Among the items to be discussed are the methods of calculating production costs, of fixing prices and assessing Iraq's royalties.

No abrogation threat: The Iraqis are pressing for abolition of the discount taken by the companies, for the appoint-



A POSE—OR A PROPOSITION?
Twelve points for negotiation, and a Czech contract up his sleeve

ment of Iraqi directors with a direct say in company expenditures, the replacement of foreign administrators and technicians by Iraqis and the relinquishment by the companies of unexploited concessionary areas. They also demand that the companies give up that natural gas which is surplus to their requirements, instead of burning it off.

Prime Minister Kassem, who may himself lead the Iraqi negotiating team, wants guarantees that Iraqi tankers will be given a fair share of the contracts for the transportation of Iraqi oil, a slice of the I.P.C. share capital of not less than 20 per cent, increased royalties to be paid in convertible currency and a re-drafting of "oppressive agreements and their ambiguous provisions".

However, while the Iraqi press is threatening the I.P.C. negotiators with all kinds of dire consequences should they not agree to Kassem's terms, official spokesmen—although taking a strong line—indicate that they have no intention of abrogating the agreement and that they are prepared to go quite some way with the company in order to reach a settlement.

Pleadingly reasonable: The companies, they say, have to take note of the times and developments in other oil-producing countries. There is something pleadingly reasonable in the Oil Ministry's expressed view that the companies "have to preserve the rights of the oil producing states so that those states may preserve the

rights of the oil companies."

There seem to be some grounds for the Iraqi complaint that I.P.C. officials "were arbitrary in explaining the provisions of the agreement which they themselves drafted", and Baghdad interprets the appointment of a new negotiating team as acknowledgement of this fact.

But, just in case there should be any doubts about Iraq's intentions to get a lot of her own way, Oil Ministry officials draw attention to the fact that a contract for preliminary work on a £15 million refinery at Basra has been signed with the Czechoslovak Techno-Export organisation. The Czechs have promised a first report within six months, to be followed by detailed designs.

"BATTLE IS ON"

The world battle for oil is on and will increase in its competitive intensity within the next few years, according to E.N.I., the Italian state-owned oil authority in a report on the industry over the past fifty years. The days of "carving up" the oil map of the world between companies is over, it states.

Today's big oil organisations, claims E.N.I., are a major obstacle to economic equilibrium. Profits of 40-45 per cent, such as are made by large concerns operating in the Middle East, are holding back the balance between the law of supply and demand, it says.

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HEIKAL EXPLAINS SOME MORE

from our special Middle East correspondent, Robert Gee

Suggestions (first made in the JEWISH OBSERVER) that the large-scale arrests of members of the Armenian Tashnak Party in Syria had nothing to do with the discovery of an Israeli spy-ring, as Damascus had alleged, but were part of the U.A.R. drive to tighten its hold on the Syrian economy, have been borne out this past week by Cairo newspapers and the broadcasting service.

For the first time since the news of the arrests more than a fortnight ago, propaganda organs have included the Tashnak Party with Lebanese newspapers and politicians who are under attack for their criticisms of President Nasser's most recent nationalisation decrees. These Lebanese criticisms seem to have caught Cairo on a peculiarly sensitive spot, a sure indication that U.A.R. public opinion has not been carried along 100 per cent with its President's action.

Typical of Cairo fury is the comment of Mohammed Abu al-Futuh who demanded to know what the Lebanese Government was going to do about those who "plot against the safety and security of its neighbours". He was hopeful that action would be taken against those who were abusing the word "freedom", distorting or exploiting it in order to "pervert and to prevaricate and falsify where prevarication and falsification are useless." Useless maybe, but, from the vigour of al-Futuh's comment, not pointless.

Worth £440 million: In Cairo itself,



FINANCE MINISTER KAISSOUNY EXPLAINS WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT
Not the end of the affair, if the mumbo-jumbo means anything

explanation of the President's decrees is still proving most necessary. *Al Ahram*'s chief editor, Mohammed Heikal, who was last week debating the advantages of Nasserist "socialism" over Soviet communism, was this week pointing out what the President's "imperative revolutionary measures" had achieved:

All foreign monopolies were now owned by the people;

Foreign exploitation had ended and oil prospecting and marketing had become the property of the people;

Capital had been put in its rightful place as a social duty and not as a tool in the hand of a few who exploited the efforts of the people;

The economy was exercised by a strong public sector capable of leading the drive towards development.

Only incidentally did he give away what economic observers both inside and outside the U.A.R. have been trying to assess—the financial benefit to the U.A.R. Treasury as a result of the nationalisation measures. At first estimate, said Heikal, the public sector had received an addition worth £400 million in the Egyptian Region and £40 million in the Syrian.

Just like the rest: He had been asked why, if nationalisation of capital and land had been primary aims of the revolution, they had not been introduced until now. The explanation lay in Nasser's belief that, if the revolutionary vanguard were to occupy itself with the carrying out of the programme of revolutionary work as soon as power was seized, "it would be exposed to the danger of falling into arguments and theories which would deprive it of freedom of move-

ment".

He claimed that the number of people personally affected by the recent decrees amounted to no more than 40,000 in Egypt and 1,000 in Syria—41,000 out of a total population of 30 million. "Thus the losses are considered slight compared with the aims." And those who had been affected had not been drastically affected. "They have merely been asked to live like the rest of the people."

One other advantage of the expansion of the public sector, Heikal indicated, was that work could be given to the many young men in the country looking for it. In the vague jargon into which revolutionary spokesmen relapse when they do not want to explain what they mean, Heikal observed:

"The important thing now is that the revolutionary definition should be accompanied by an administrative one. Youth must be given leading posts on the basis of qualifications. There should be a general social orientation for those working in the public sector so that they may know their true position in the service of our society, in full co-operation with the private sector. There must also be vigilant and wise supervision."

More to come? It is clear from this sort of mumbo-jumbo that, even now, no-one in the Nasser administration has thought the matter of development and the utilisation of natural resources through to their end. In these circumstances, it is not unlikely that the Presidential decrees issued last month were only the first of a series, the remainder to be formulated as some new direction is indicated by financial and other factors.

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ISRAEL IN THE NEWS

UNEXPECTED BY-PRODUCTS

EVERY ELECTION USUALLY produces some by-product which has a more lasting effect on the life of the nation than many of the so-called major issues. In this last Israel election there were two such issues, which, lifted from their party context, may leave their lasting mark. The first was the public debate about whether Goldmann was justified in "intervening" in the election. This debate had some surprising aspects. I heard opinions voiced by thoughtful Israelis who support the Liberals, which were almost violent in their angry opposition to Goldmann's appearances on election platforms. I admit that I was surprised by the sources of some of these expressions of opinion, and even more by the strength of feeling with which they were uttered.

Probably the manner of Goldmann's last-minute intervention was not particularly happy. One embittered Liberal said that it reminded him too much of a visit by Yehudi Menuhin—you come, give nine concerts, and then leave. Nevertheless, I think Goldmann's action will have a lasting effect in that it will ultimately legitimise and regularise the nature of Diaspora Jewry's interest and participation in Israel's political fortunes—unless the next Government takes precise action to prevent it happening again. This would be a great mistake.

NEW OUTLOOK'S ARAB EDITOR RESIGNS

THE SECOND NOTEWORTHY EVENT during the election was the letter which Rustum Bastuni made public on the eve of the polling. Bastuni is a former Mapam member of the Knesset, one of the principal editors of the monthly *New Outlook*, and an architect in private life. About a year ago, he came to see me with Peretz Merhav, the London representative of Mapam, to explain what he wanted to have done for Israeli Arabs. Even at that time he had a far more responsible approach to this difficult question than the official Mapam policy. In his early forties, I would say, his keen face made a strong and lasting impression. His letter does not surprise me. It is entirely in the character of the man.

In it he announces his retirement from active political life after sixteen years. The reason, he says, is that he cannot agree to the double standard practised by Mapam. You cannot have two contradic-



MAPAM'S BARZILAI
A line that went too far?

tory programmes for Israel's citizens, he declares, one for the Arabs and one for other Israelis. He objects to Mapam's denial in its Arab propaganda that there has been substantial progress made by the State in its treatment of its Arab citizens, especially in the social and economic fields. Above all, Bastuni objects to the exploitation of extreme nationalism against the Israeli State in Mapam's Arab policy statements. He points to the fact that Mapam has enrolled the help of some of the most reactionary and hostile Arab leaders in order to attack the State of Israel.

NASTY AND CHEAP

Bastuni adds that he proposes to devote himself to working for the betterment of Arab villagers, and I hope he will receive every possible encouragement in this, for he may well be able to show how some problems have to be tackled, even in so intensely politically conditioned a society as Israel. And he has given voice to a statement of political morals which stands out like a beacon from some of the nasty and cheap party propaganda which has characterised this election.

PROJECTING EICHMANN

I WATCHED THE final session of the Eichmann trial before the court adjourned

until late autumn, during which time the judges will deliberate on the verdict. So much has already been said about the proceedings and the impressive conduct of the judges, that all I can say is that this is so. Opinions about the prosecution, and especially about the Attorney General, are strongly divided. It is admitted, however, that he succeeded brilliantly in one aspect of his case; in the demonstration beyond all possible doubt of the massacre that was perpetrated by the Germans, and here he has made a lasting impact on the world.

But the very enormity of the indictment overshadowed even more intensely the incredibly insignificant personality of Eichmann. It strikes every observer in court, and it has, of course, greatly helped the defence. Many people—including the prosecution—maintain that this is part of Eichmann's great act and that his fencing with the Attorney General demonstrated that he is a very clever man playing a very clever game. After the closing speech for the defence, the direct case against Eichmann appears to the outsider to be rather more open than the more general case which the prosecution presented. Whether Eichmann is more guilty or less guilty, more clever or less clever, will no doubt be shown in the judges' reasoned verdict, and there the trial will have to be left for the time being.

REMARKABLE OPERATION

But it would not have achieved anything like its main purpose had it not been effectively projected into the world. And for this, the backroom boys who organised the trial's public face deserve the greatest credit. The police and the Government Press Office have brought off a remarkable and original operation. They had no real precedent for something like this, they started from scratch and they have gained the gratitude and appreciation of pressmen from every part of the world. It is difficult to mention names when so many contributed on all levels to this successful venture, but some played an outstanding role and bore the brunt of the burden, especially in the preparatory stages, when they were not always appreciated by the authorities—as they were to be later on. On the press side, the main weight of the task fell on the shoulders of David Landor, Haim Zohar and Lionel Peytan. They not only did the impossible, but they did it remarkably well, and one can only hope

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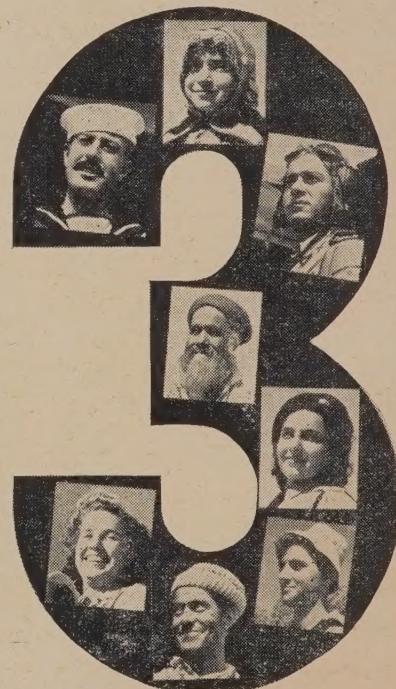
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that someone in the new Government has the foresight not to dismantle completely the fine machine which they created.

Of the Israel Police Force one has come to expect so much that people take it for granted that they will produce a faultless piece of organisation. But it was more. They made it appear easy and so casual that people failed to see what was meant. They had to keep the careful planning and preparations away from the public eye—and they did.

The whole thing was done as if the Israeli police were accustomed to handling such unusual situations. The men on the spot who made everything function like well-oiled clockwork were the two officers in charge at the trial building, Yekutiel and Keren, and Sgan-Nitzan Koppel, who succeeded Shaul Rosolio. And, somewhere at the end, there is a moral. Police and press worked hand in hand, and the censorship could relax, and their relaxation was justified in the event. Sometimes, trust provides for better security than does the ever-ready blue pencil.

EL AL NOSTALGIA

I WAS THINKING sadly—as far as it was possible to think, or, for that matter, sleep or read—as I was swept motionlessly and soundlessly through the air from Rome to Tel Aviv in under three hours, about bygone days. I found myself yearning for the old, friendly, well-meaning, if not too efficient El Al, sometimes late, and never worried about breaking records. The old El Al quite without the Madison Avenue touch. I am probably romanticising it somewhat, but it had that indefinable something that seems to get lost with size and success.

One is, of course, prejudiced in advance when one boards a plane in Rome's magnificent new airport, the nearest thing to hell living man is ever likely to get within reach of. With an inside temperature of around one hundred degrees, with unrelieved glass walls and endless corridors, with jets opening up their throttles on both sides of this glass-house, and loudspeakers constantly trying without effect to drown out the jets, passengers are deafened and bewildered. You cannot hear the announcements of impending departures, and there is no other way of finding out about them except by tramping the long corridors and finishing up at the wrong end. It was, therefore, with some relief that I entered the bright Boeing 707, recalling my previous relaxed and quiet Sabena flight across the Atlantic. Alas for my dreams. In international airline language



RELAXED—AFTER FOUR MONTHS
A faultless piece of organisation

there is, I believe, something known as "cabin discipline." It appears to be the belief of the El Al authorities that its absence in their aircraft is one of the charms that attracts customers and has made them so much more successful than many of their rivals. They may have a point, in that greater informality in the aircraft is something passengers enjoy, but the trouble with this kind of reasoning is that it is hard to stop at just the right proportion of aircraft do-as-you-please.

My Boeing flew easily and silently, which is more than can be said for its human cargo. No sooner were we airborne than we had American kids and

Israeli babies screaming and tearing around the plane. The Muzak was turned up loud so that we should hear something of it above the *Kaffeeklatsch* and the rising tones of the parents yelling at the children to be quiet. To this was presently added the excitement of the stewards selling drinks in the gangway. I don't think I have ever experienced such a cacophony in the air. I have my doubts as to whether this is going to encourage tourists to fly El Al, or even go to Israel. It is not a new disease, but it is getting worse. Perhaps one way of curing it would be to encourage the stewards and stewardesses to exercise some control over the melee instead of joining in it.

HADASSAH REPERCUSSIONS

MY NOTE OF last week has produced an extraordinary response here in Jerusalem. Any number of people—not a few of whom work in or for Hadassah—have said how true and timely were the remarks in last week's JEWISH OBSERVER about the dying boy and Hadassah. The only error in my story was my statement that the cost of the new Jerusalem edifice was \$12 million. The actual cost was rather over \$30 million, of which \$6 million still have to be paid. There may be many morals in this story, which the enthusiastic and energetic members of Hadassah in the United States will no doubt take to heart. But, more than anything, it underlines the importance of strict priorities in a country like Israel. The fault is as much that of the authorities as of Hadassah.

Jon Kimche

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ISRAEL

AFTER THE POLL— THE PROBLEMS

SERIOUS THREATS TO ECONOMY

from a special correspondent

Jerusalem :

For the first time in many years, the cost-of-living allowance talks between the Histadrut and the Manufacturers' Association have broken down, and there is more behind the breakdown than meets the eye. Taking the situation as it is today, and the agreement as it exists today, the Manufacturers' Association has no case.

The consumer price index, including fruit and vegetables, rose between the end of June 1960 and the end of June 1961 by 8.7 points—from 101.7 to 110.4. Even excluding fruit and vegetables, the rise was from 101.0 to 108.5 points, i.e. by well over 7 per cent. The agreement in force clearly states that under such circumstances an increment is payable.

However, the Histadrut itself undermined the letter and spirit of the agreement, when it successfully insisted on the payment of a c.o.l. increment last July (1960), though the index had not risen sufficiently to permit this under the terms of their settlement with the Association. Today, the boot is on the other foot.

Organisational weaknesses : Needless to say, while it would have been comparatively easy for the Histadrut to explain to its members why it could not demand a rise in the c.o.l. allowance last year, it is quite impossible for it to do so this year—not so much because of the election, but simply because the facts of the



CELEBRATION NIGHT IN JERUSALEM—FOR SOME
After the count, the accounting—the hangover is waiting

economic situation have changed. The rise in prices, which in July 1960 was hardly noticeable, today is too obvious to dissemble. There is a big difference between 2 per cent and 8 per cent!

Moreover, the Histadrut is suffering from organisational weaknesses, which threaten to undermine its influence. There have been too many successful attempts at strikes or threats of strikes without its approval during recent months. This weakness represents a danger not only to the Histadrut, but probably also to the State.

For the Histadrut, besides representing organised labour, is also a large-scale employer of labour, and its attitude to wages is—at least to this extent—ambivalent. Though union pressure has tended to be the decisive factor formulating Histadrut policies in the past, the leadership of the Histadrut were normally

able to restrain their followers, more extreme demands.

Becker's difficulty : The Government's difficulties in controlling inflation will increase rather than diminish should it find itself unable to negotiate with the Histadrut leaders, confident that—once it has reached agreement with them—they will be able make their followers toe the line.

So Aharon Becker, feeling very far from safe, is hardly in a position to quote economics to his membership in order to postpone the payment of an allowance which a signed and sealed agreement promises them. On the other hand, the manufacturers have some potent arguments for being as obstreperous about implementing the agreement as the Histadrut was last year. They can point to the growing trade deficit, to rising production charges which will make export increases cost a fortune in premiums, and—last but not least—to the need for checking the cost inflation quickly before it gets completely out of hand.

The problem facing the administration now is whether to pay the allowance. To pay it while refusing to consider devaluation, a radical change in future policy concerning the wage-index link, or both would seem to promise serious trouble in the not very distant future.

Hangover awaits : There is a limit to the amount of export premiums the Government can afford to pay, if only because tax rates can hardly be raised much more. And, obviously, if wage increases continue at the present rate

HOW ISRAEL HAS VOTED IN THE PAST

	First Knesset 25.1.1949	Second Knesset 30.7.1951	Third Knesset 26.7.1955	Fourth Knesset 3.11.1959
Mapai	46	45	40	47
Herut	14	8	15	17
National Religious		10	11	12
Agudat Israel	16	3	3	3
Poalei Agudat Israel		2	3	3
Mapam	19	15	9	9
Ahdut Avoda	—	—	10	7
General Zionists	7	20	13	8
Progressives	5	4	5	6
Communists	4	5	6	3
Arabs	2	5	5	5
Others	7	3	—	—

(with another cost-of-living allowance in December on the cards) it will be very difficult indeed for many Israel exports to continue to be competitive abroad unless producers get much larger premiums.

When the election fever subsides and the party manoeuvring is done, the hang-over may be worse than the weary warriors expected.

TOO FEW GO SOUTH

THIRD OF POPULATION LIVES NEAR TEL AVIV

from a special correspondent

Tel Aviv :

Despite intensive efforts to populate the south of the country and limit the growth of Tel Aviv and the coastal plain's population generally, success has been limited and the incoming Government is going to have to cope with a sizeable problem, if the pattern of development is going to conform to Israel's needs.

The recently concluded census has revealed some interesting facts about Israel's population pattern, and although the figures are provisional (the final results will appear in several years' time in three volumes), they are accurate enough to enable conclusions to be drawn.

The number of Israelis, new immigrants and others, living in the south of the country has certainly increased since 1951, the date of the last census. At that time 64,138 (4 per cent) of the country's population of 1,603,000 lived in the south. This year's figure is an improvement—172,682. This is a bigger percentage (8 per cent) of a bigger population (2,170,082).

More in Jerusalem : Beersheba's population has almost trebled during the ten years from 1951 to 1961, from 34,880 to 97,445. This is something of a triumph, but, on the other hand, Beersheba's population is only a quarter of Tel Aviv's, which now stands at 386,612.

Haifa and Jerusalem lag a long way behind, although both cities are considerably larger than Beersheba. The capital's population is now 166,301, almost exactly double what it was in November, 1948, six months after the establishment of the State. Haifa's residents now number 182,000, an increase of 86 per cent over the 1948 total of 97,500.

The two towns of Acre and Nazareth show remarkable progress since the early days statehood. Nazareth's present-day population of 25,066 has increased from 16,994 in the last thirteen years.

Transformation : Acre has been entirely transformed. From a sleepy Arab town,



MORE IN THE CAPITAL, STILL MORE IN TEL AVIV
President Ben-Zvi looks at the census results (on his left, Teddie Kollek)

jogging along behind the massive walls and fortress built by the Crusaders, it has grown by leaps and bounds into a bustling, thriving community. Its formerly predominantly Arab character has gone for good, and the Arabs living there, while they may not yet be in the minority are well on the way to becoming so.

Since 1951, Safed's population has increased more than the average for the country as a whole. From a total of 26,000 ten years ago, it has now risen to 45,600—getting on for a 77 per cent increase.

Varied incentives: However, encouraging as progress has been in settling the

northern part of the country more fully, as well as bringing people to the empty south, the size of the problem to be tackled can be gauged by the fact that very nearly one third (32.1 per cent) of the country's entire population still lives in and around Tel Aviv.

All kinds of incentives have been tried, from substantial tax concessions, cheap housing and high pay to exhortations, promises and appeals to idealistic and pioneering youth. None of this has yet been enough. The correct formula will have to be found by the new Government if the population map of the country is to be brought into balance.

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EICHMANN—THE FINAL PLEAS

HAUSNER ASKS FOR "JUST AND RIGHTEOUS VERDICT"

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

At first glance nothing seemed to have changed. There was the pallid, balding man in his glass cage, his mouth twitching unceasingly, busily making notes and listening to what was coming through his earphones. There were the crowds of spectators, there were the three judges, the lawyers, the police.

But despite appearances, there had in fact been many changes. Attorney General Gideon Hausner was still on his feet, it was true, but he was not cross-examining witnesses or the accused. He was making the prosecution's final summing-up speech, resumed on Tuesday of last week.

The original date for the resumption of the trial had been August 3, but Judge Halevy had become indisposed in the meantime, so the resumption had been postponed until August 8.

Summing-up in three parts : At exactly thirty-four minutes past eight on the Tuesday morning the judges took their seats, and a little later Hausner rose to begin his summing up, while Adolf Eichmann sat in the glassed-in dock and listened.

The Attorney General announced that his summing-up would fall into three parts—a speech, a written section prepared by his deputies Gabriel Bach and

HAUSNER'S ACCUSING FINGER
No denial, no regrets



Ya'akov Baror, and various lists with further documentary proof of the guilt of the accused.

As Hausner's speech proceeded, representing the picture of mass murder and terror that had overtaken Europe's Jews, marshalling the facts and figures, citing the evidence, emphasising various details, building up his arguments, he dominated the court again, as he had at the trial's opening.

Impressive calm : Gone were the emotional outbursts, the digressions and repetitions, the undisguised anger, the open contempt. His voice was far from flat and he was by no means uncommitted, but now Hausner demonstrated that he had the case at his fingertips, and the relative calm with which he developed his theme was impressive.

Painting in the background of the growth of Nazism and its evils, Hausner began by emphasising that Eichmann had expressed not one word of regret about the holocaust, although he had not denied that it had happened.

Eichmann, despite his assertions that all he had been doing was drawing up train schedules, was at the very heart of the great slaughter-house that was Europe in the nineteen-forties. He had organised the expulsion of the Jews from Austria, after stripping them of all they owned.

Forced marches : He had been present at the meeting in September, 1939 when Heydrich informed the commanders of the *Einsatzgruppen* (special operations groups) of the plan for banishing all Jews from the areas annexed to the Reich and rounding them up in ghettos in preparation for the next stage—the Final Solution—the physical extermination of the Jewish people: men, women and children.

Eichmann claimed that the documents were false, that he could not have been there, that he never participated in meetings of that kind—all this was disproved by the evidence. He knew that the Jews were to be wiped out. Even as early as 1940, a year later, he was already organising transport for the Polish mass deportations of Jews. These arrangements had resulted in forced marches by hundreds upon hundreds of Jews of all ages in the bitter snows of an east European mid-winter and their deaths on the way.

It was no good Eichmann "skulking among the documents," claiming that they were forged, that witnesses had lied,

even his defence witnesses, that his confessions and statements had not been made by him or had been twisted, that he was not guilty. Eichmann had been able to give every single, tiny detail to his interrogators of what he had done twenty-five years ago, the meals he had eaten, the prices he had paid, the paper he had used for his correspondence. The only thing he had forgotten was that he was supposed, on his evidence, to have a bad memory.

Three things to prove : Hausner then went on to the question of the three things he had to prove: that there had been a criminal conspiracy, that part or all of it had been put into effect and that Eichmann had played a role in it.

Quoting English, Israeli and German legal rulings, Hausner gave the definition of conspiracy and declared that it was a rule of law that conspirators must be presumed to intend the consequences of their acts and must be held responsible for them. Once a person had become party to a conspiracy, then he was considered to have continued to be a party indefinitely, or until he had taken some definite step to cut himself off from his fellow-conspirators.

There had been such a conspiracy—to destroy the Jews—and Eichmann had joined it of his own free will. He was responsible for his acts and could not claim that he had been acting under orders or that he had been carrying out an act of state. In any event, it had been ruled at Nuremberg, that the Hitler loyalty oath was itself an act of sacrilege and could not serve as justification or explanation for crimes perpetrated because of it.

Eichmann handled Jewish matters : Hausner then turned to the Madagascar plan, which he dubbed a "super-ghetto." Four million indigenous inhabitants of the island were to have been displaced to make way for the deported Jews of Europe, who would then have been conveniently concentrated for the carrying-out of any repressive measures decided on.

From the point of view of cruelty and disregard of human lives, the plan did not fall far short of murder. Eichmann probably regretted that the plan had fallen through because it meant that he would not be the supreme commissar of the Jews.

However, the failure of the Madagascar plan did not hinder Eichmann. He was appointed to head a Gestapo department handling Jewish matters, and was the only such departmental head appointed. In 1945, Eichmann had estimated that only between 800,000 and 1,500,000 of Europe's Jews still survived.

which indicated, Hausner declared, that more than the six million commonly accepted as the final figure, had been wiped out by the Nazis.

Eichmann was not only responsible for all Jewish affairs, but he it was who had suggested that the Jews be gassed, and he it was who had been responsible for supplying the gas to the extermination camps. His writ ran inside the concentration camps and inside the death camps as well.

In Poland too: He had been actively connected with what went on in the Warsaw ghetto as well. Despite the fact that he had himself destroyed almost all the documents dealing with the Polish Government General, a few had survived, and they proved that Eichmann had dealt with the Jews of Poland as he had dealt with those of the rest of Europe. His claim that he had dealt only with foreign nationals did not hold water.

When Thursday came, Hausner was ready to complete his summing-up. He cited chapter and verse to refute the defence's claim that Eichmann had been only "a small cog in the machine," and that he had acted under orders and not on his own initiative.

Handing in a 31-chapter written summing-up prepared by his assistants, Gabriel Bach and Ya'acov Baror, together with a list of further documents and other proof, Hausner proceeded to analyse every one of the fifteen counts in the Eichmann indictment, citing proof that the accused was guilty of each one of them.

Thanks to non-Jews: This had been preceded by a speech of thanks and praise for the non-Jews of nearly every country of Europe under the German hegemony, who had helped to save the lives of Jews, and Hausner mentioned every country. Then, late on Thursday morning, the Attorney General concluded his summing-up with this peroration:

"What was done to the Jews cries out for justice, and I am proud that the day has come when a man of Israel can arise and speak in the language of the law about an evil-doer who has been trapped and caught."

"Here, in this country, nobody need plead for mercy and pity from an arch-murderer. There is no need to flee from him and seek succour and protection in another country. Here he will be judged by the law, and today, when the exiles are returned to Judaea and Jerusalem, the oppressors of Judah and those who sought their innocent blood will be tried according to the prophecy of Joel."

"A righteous verdict": "I ask you, judges of Israel, to render a just and righteous verdict."



COURT PRESIDENT MOSHE LANDAU AND JUDGE ITZHAK RAVEH
Two pleas for justice—theirs the decision

SERVATIUS SEEKS "A JUDGEMENT BEFITTING SOLOMON"

Dr. Robert Servatius, the stubby Cologne lawyer leading the defence, submitted a great deal of his arguments in writing, but what he had to say in open court was enough to take up the whole of Monday, the last day of the hearing.

In essence, Servatius repudiated the indictment count by count, claimed that Eichmann had in any event merely been acting under orders and was not a key figure in the extermination of European Jewry, and asked for the case against his client to be dismissed, since the prosecution had "built its case on sand."

Eichmann not responsible: Old friends of the Nazis would be delighted with the picture of Eichmann painted by the prosecution, said Servatius. They would conclude that it was not Hitler, Goering or Himmler who had issued instructions for the extermination of European Jewry, but the greatest Jew-hater of them all, Adolf Eichmann. "Fortunately, this is not so," Servatius went on.

It was at the Nuremberg trials, where the accused were concerned to shift the guilt away from their own shoulders, that the allegation first emerged that Eichmann had been the principal mover behind the Final Solution and its main executant, but there was nothing to support the charge that the assignment had been given to Eichmann by Hitler.

Despite errors of memory on the part of witnesses and confusion in their memories of what they had seen and experienced, he had not challenged them, even though it might have been possible to show up inconsistencies and contradic-

tions, because "their sufferings were too sacred for me to allow myself attacks on them."

"Gross contempt of court": Furthermore, it had proved impossible for the defence to gather all the evidence available because people were frightened by the press campaign unleashed as the result of the announcement of the trial, a campaign which was, Servatius declared, "the grossest contempt of court."

As far as mass deportations of Jews were concerned, not only had Eichmann not been responsible for them, but there was evidence to show that he had collected considerable sums of money to assist Jewish "emigration." Two thirds of Austrian Jewry had been able to emigrate "thanks to what Eichmann did."

The S.S. office for administration and economy had administered the concentration camps. Eichmann had had nothing to do with them and no influence over them, despite what six of the fifteen counts in the indictment alleged.

"Not the work of hearts": Rebutting the indictment item by item (twelve of the fifteen carry the death penalty), Servatius claimed that, at the time the alleged acts had been committed the Jewish State had not existed, so that no crimes could have been committed against it. What was more, the things that had happened to the Jews in occupied Europe were not "the work of the hearts of human beings, but the outcome of political thought in the brains of the leaders. The heads of state were to blame. They have done it in the past and are likely to

do it again in the future." This last remark brought a mild protest by President of the court, Judge Moshe Landau, who told Servatius that he was being too pessimistic.

Dealing with prosecuting lawyer Hausner's assertions that there had been a conspiracy to exterminate Europe's Jews and later those of the whole world, Servatius denied the existence of any conspiracy. The Nazis' massacres had been without precedent, but other massacres in ancient and modern times had always been regarded, not as open crimes, but as political matters.

No conspiracy: Crimes attributed to Eichmann were merely part of a more comprehensive act, and there could be no conspiracy between a superior who issued an order and the subordinate who carried it out. The attitude of the State to the person obeying orders depended on the success or failure of the operation. "The man who obeys orders may receive either the knight's collar or the hangman's noose," was the way Servatius put it.

If there had to be a trial, then it should have been held in Argentina, the only country competent to try Eichmann for the crimes attributed to him. And if he had been tried there, the Argentinian statute of limitations would have applied.

The real reasons for the persecution of the Jews could not be defined by Jewry. An enormous number of letters from all over the world had been received by the defence, suggesting that what the prosecution sought to establish as reasons had not been clearly established at all.

"Not revenge": "Within himself, Eichmann always rejected the extermination of the Jews," Servatius went on, and then made a plea for a "judgement befitting Solomon, a judgement showing the world the wisdom of the Jewish people.

"Let it not be said that this court has taken revenge on the accused for the political leadership of Adolf Hitler. His conviction will not constitute expiation for the horrors. The court should reach a decision which will be a sign for coming generations. I am not appealing for forgiveness or trying to deprive the Jewish people of the right to remember. I am only calling for a truce."

The court has now adjourned for the judges to consider their verdict.

LAW

TREND AWAY FROM ENGLISH PRECEDENT ISRAEL RETURNS TO ITS SOURCES

by Professor N. Bentwich

The Israel Institute of Legislative Research, attached to the Law Faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has published a summary of the development of Israel law in 1958 and 1959, both by statute of the Knesset and by the courts.

Some of the laws and judicial decisions have an interest beyond Israel's frontiers. They show a trend, on the one hand, to depart from English precedent and introduce principles contained in the Talmud and rabbinical jurisprudence, and on the other, to take bold measures to meet novel problems.

An example of novelty is the law governing electioneering, passed before the last general election in 1959. It forbids the use of electioneering methods which disturb the citizen: aeroplanes, loud-speakers in the street, cinema advertisements and even multi-coloured party posters. Electioneering may not be mixed with entertainment or artistic performances.

Licence for drilling: A far-reaching statute is the law nationalising water, so to say, as the basis of a planned water policy. The old Ottoman law in the civil code, which is still partly in force, gave the right over water to the person owning the land where it was found.

English law similarly recognised private rights of ownership over water, but Israel law adopts the principle that, although every person has the right to be supplied with water for legitimate purposes, possession of land on which water is running or discovered, does not give any right.

A licence is required for water drilling—the neighbours having an opportunity to lodge an objection—and for the exploitation of water sources. The Minister of Agriculture, and under him the Water

Commissioner, may ration the supply and consumption, and fix an order of priorities.

Israel has had to introduce a law about restrictive trade practices, which covers cartels and monopolies. It is based on the English model, and introduces examination and control of all arrangements designed to impose any restraint on the price of goods and services, their quality or their purchase board decides whether the cartel is compatible with the public interest.

It also decides, at the instance of the controller, whether the existence of a monopoly causes an unnecessary rise in the price of the commodity or service, and it may apply to the Minister for an order prescribing the maximum price, that may be charged.

"Irresistible impulse": An example of the tendency to introduce Rabbinical principles is a family maintenance law which puts on the wider family circle, outside husband, wife and children, an obligation to support a relative in need. Before asking for maintenance the applicant must prove that he has made an effort to keep himself.

A noteworthy decision involving new questions of law is a judgment of the Supreme Court on the question of a defence of "irresistible impulse" in murder cases—that criminals who are not insane at the time should not be permitted to put forward this defence. It is only as a correction or amplification of the English rules of insanity, adopted by the Palestine and Israel courts that the defence is admissible.

The High Court of Justice, (which is composed of judges of the Supreme Court), reviewed the judgment of a rabbinical court which had failed to apply certain provisions of the Knesset law about equal rights for women. The Knesset law about the rabbinical courts makes no reference to the other law, and some rabbinical tribunals ignore its provisions and continue to apply the religious law. The High Court laid down that they must quash a judgment of the religious court which is not in conformity with the law of the State.

English translations soon: The development of Jewish jurisprudence and the passing of novel legislative measures of the welfare state, which reflect the principle of Zedaka, deserve the attention of Jewish lawyers and laymen. The publication of a volume of English translations of judgments of the Supreme Court is promised in the near future and will be of great interest to all those interested in the development of Israeli law. It is to be hoped that these decisions will now be issued in translation at regular intervals.

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GO FORTH AND SERVE, by Martin Rosenbluth; 318 pp., illustrations; (*Herzl Press*) No price.

"If only people had listened. If only they had realised what lay in store for the world when Hitler came to power, the history of the world might have been quite different. The history of the world's then seventeen million Jews would assuredly have been different." This plaint, in its many and varied forms, has been heard so often in the last twenty-five or so years, and will probably continue to be heard for very much longer than that. Even statesmen, politicians, diplomats and newspapermen, all with sources of information denied to the man in the street, could see no cause for alarm as the Nazis went from strength to strength. With a few honourable exceptions, they all dismissed the reports beginning to come out of Germany in the early thirties as highly exaggerated. That the ordinary man should think so too, is hardly surprising. It is even less surprising when one remembers that the Jews on the spot, the German Jews who had lived in what was to become the Third Reich for generations, could not believe what they saw with their own eyes. What people were talking about could not happen to them. It would all pass over.

They were so much a part of German life, so much a part of the fabric of society, that the few disabilities from which they still suffered were unimportant to them, and would, in any case, they believed, disappear as human culture made still more progress. They were prosperous, they were well settled, they knew the language, literature and philosophy of their country thoroughly. They were Germans of the Jewish faith, and although they were proud of being Jews, they were almost prouder of being Germans. Why, there were whole villages which were "company villages," owing their prosperity and tranquillity to the Jewish-owned enterprises which dominated them and were sometimes their only *raison d'être*. How could it ever happen that, in Germany of all countries, the Jews would be persecuted and there would be pogroms as there had been in such uncivilised countries as Russia and Poland, whose *Ostjuden* had been flooding into Germany for many decades?



PINHAS ROSEN
The man from *Messingwerk*'

Messingwerk was just such a Jewish "company village." Pinhas Rosen, for so many years Israel's Minister of Justice, was born there as Felix Pinhas Rosenbluth. All the Rosenbluth family, including Martin, the author of the book under review, grew up there. All of them, except Martin, went to Palestine. Martin visited the country, but his destiny lay in other parts of the world. For over fifty years now he has been an active Zionist, first in Germany, later in Denmark, England and the United States, as well as working for the cause in Rumania and elsewhere. He has been a loyal ser-

vant of the movement, and the title of his book is well chosen.

As the description of life in Germany at the turn of the century and later unfolds, an entire vanished world is evoked, the *Heimat* still spoken of with such nostalgia in Ben Yehuda Street, in Golders Green, and even in such unlikely places as Hong Kong and Bombay. When the story moves on to the growth of the Zionist movement, it is just as evocative. But, and this must be said, unkind though it be, it is so despite and not because of the way in which this book has been written. Sincerity, devotion, deep knowledge and involvement, and the will to write are not enough. Although Martin Rosenbluth has written many articles for the Jewish press in America and elsewhere, the story he has to tell suffers because his biography is badly written. It is too diffuse, it includes too much insignificant and irrelevant detail (for instance, why he spells his name differently from others of his family) and it is too undisciplined. Nor does it tell the reader nearly enough about the inside workings of the Zionist movement as the author experienced them, nor about the personalities of the movement, whom he knew and knows well. This is a pity, for Martin Rosenbluth has much to tell that no one else can with quite such authority.

Just the same, however, this book has a place in a Jewish library. So too, has the further book it may be hoped that Mr. Rosenbluth will write, where the mass of material stored in his memory will be ruthlessly edited, and all the facts, anecdotes, events and personalities marshalled and presented much more tersely — perhaps with the aid of a collaborator.

Sidney Lightman

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ISRAELI ENTERPRISE

A Jewish Observer Panorama

LIFE POLICIES NOT POPULAR FACING THE FUTURE WITHOUT ASSURANCE

from our own correspondent

Tel Aviv :

So far, Israel is the only country in the world where you can take out an insurance policy which provides an automatic hedge against devaluation or inflation. The "linked" policies sold by Israeli insurance companies make their payments when the policy matures dependent either on the rate of exchange of the Israel pound against the dollar, or the level of the cost-of-living index.

"Linked" life insurance policies are obviously popular with the Israeli public. By the end of last year, ££82.7 million (£16,450,000) worth had been taken out. The figure is likely to increase as more and more Israelis realise that their policies will pay more if the external value of the currency or its purchasing power internally should drop.

Despite its progress in this and other fields, however, the local insurance industry still has much leeway to make up in the field of life insurance. Leaving aside insurance cover provided by co-operative societies and provident funds, fewer than one third of the country's families have any insurance outside the national insurance scheme.

Unused to insurance: Apart from economic factors, there are others which have hampered the rapid growth of the country's insurance industry as far as

the life field is concerned. The minority groups (Arabs, Druzes, Beduin) have almost no knowledge of insurance and have therefore taken out very few policies. Many orthodox groups are actively opposed to the idea, and, in addition, the vast majority of new immigrants are totally unaccustomed to it.

These factors, plus the economic situation, account for the fact that, whereas in the U.S., per capita life insurance averages \$4,700 (£1,729), in Israel it is only about a seventh of this figure—£1,366 (£272).

Even making allowances for the much higher standard of living in America, and the bigger wage rates, the discrepancy is still on the high side, although, to get the matter into perspective, one must take into account the fact that 187,000 life policies had been issued in Israel by the end of 1959, with a total value of ££256 million (£50,800,000).

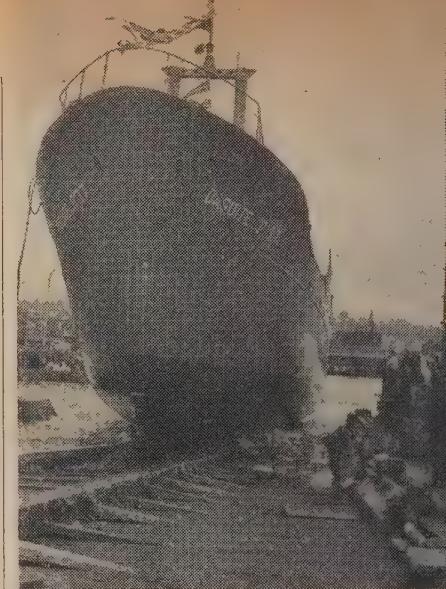
Too small a share: Nevertheless, life insurance has not maintained its due share of the market. The national income rose almost ninefold between 1950 and 1959—from ££353 million to £3,047 million (£604 million), while the total of life insurance premiums multiplied only five times, from ££1.8 million to just over £9 million (£1 $\frac{1}{4}$ million).

While this increase was a large one, compared with that in marine insurance (££0.8 million to ££4.1 million), put against the increase in ordinary insurance from under ££5 million to over ££43 million, it is much less significant.

As far as the investments of Israeli insurance companies themselves are concerned, some ££18.6 million of their total ££100 million (just under £40 million) estimated assets have gone into securities and various other sources of safe income, ££13.8 million into securities issued or guaranteed by the Government.

RESTITUTION RUNS INTO MILLIONS FOREIGN CURRENCY INCOME BOOSTED BY A THIRD

Without lifting a finger, a minority—although a sizeable one—of Israelis are



BUILT IN FRANCE, FOR ISRAEL
Another boost for marine insurance

earning more foreign currency for the country than all the exporters put together. The \$100 million (£35,700,000) worth of personal restitution payments from Germany which flowed in last year exceeded the net foreign currency income from all exports.

As the Bank Leumi's chairman has pointed out, Israel receives restitution funds without any expenditure or investment on her part. Although the gross income from exports is greater (last year it was \$350 million, equal to £125 million), once the cost of raw material and other imports connected with the goods and services exported has been deducted, restitution payments take first place on the list.

Restitution payments account for a third of all unrequited currency transfers to Israel, and they also represent 100 per cent income, since nothing is spent on acquiring them.

Further legislation: The amount is likely to rise in the fairly near future, before tailing off sharply in 1964. The 1953 Restitution Law passed by Federal Germany did not take into account the differing purchasing powers of the various currencies into which restitution payments would be changed by recipients living outside Germany.

Nazi victims living in America, for example, found that their monthly payments went nowhere near as far as they would have done had the recipients been living in, say, England or one of the countries of Western Europe.

After representations by American restitution recipients, West Germany passed further laws in 1955 and 1957, permitting exchange rate discrepancies to be



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taken into account, so that people receiving indemnification would not suffer because the particular currency they were paid in stood high in relation to the Deutschemark.

\$30 million loss: The Association of Israel Restitution Recipients is taking steps to try and get the amount paid to their members increased for the same reasons. An Israeli economist, Dr. Kurt Nawratzki, has estimated that "over-valuation of the Israel pound" has cost the Ministry of Finance \$30 million (£10,700,000) in lost foreign currency payments in the last twelve months.

Whether the Government agrees with this estimate or not, it is certainly of the opinion that the position should be altered, and is sending three officials to Bonn shortly to discuss the whole problem.

MORE FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN 1961

ESHKOL MAPS FUTURE PLANS FOR ECONOMY

The first six months of this year have confirmed a trend which first became apparent in foreign investment in Israel in early 1960. Foreign investors are putting more money into approved enterprises, and the Government is having to make smaller loans.

Up to the end of June, 1961, the Investment Centre had approved 279 enterprises since January. The total value of the projects was \$85 million (£30,360,000) and £f117 million (£20,180,000). Another favourable factor was that the number of projects brought to fruition from paper plans increased. If this tendency continues, and there is every reason for believing that it will, the discrepancy between announced plans and their fulfilment will become increasingly minor.

Heartening as these developments are, however, they can be seen in their true significance only when Finance Minister Levi Eshkol's estimate of future needs is taken into account. He foresees the necessity for Israel to find no less than \$2,500 million (£893 million) within the next five years to finance development plans.

Industry, housing and tourism: Industry, power stations, mines and quarries would take \$1,000 million (£357 million), 150,000 housing units would require \$700 million (£250 million), agriculture and irrigation \$500 million (£178,500,000), the same amount for transport, and \$250 million (£89,250,000) for public services and the development of tourism, according to Mr. Eshkol.



NEW RASSCO ESTATE
No halt to this thriving enterprise

NEW PLANTS AT SDOM

Two American firms—Harrison Walker of Pennsylvania and Continental Ore of New York—have entered into an agreement with Dead Sea Works to produce magnesite at Sdom.

Dead Sea Works will own 75 per cent of the capital of the new undertaking and the American companies the other 25 per cent. Production is scheduled for early next year at the rate of 75,000 tons annually. A pilot plant is already in operation, and is turning out one ton a day of magnesite, used in the manufacture of refractory bricks.

Nearby, work has started on a salt refinery which will export 20,000 tons of salt a year to Central Africa when it goes into full production shortly. Also at Sdom, a bromide plant will be built in which F. W. Berk Ltd., a British company, and the Swiss firm of Metalrohstoff A. G. will be making a considerable investment.

A SATISFIED IMPORTER

*Sir,—*In recent issues of the JEWISH OBSERVER AND MIDDLE EAST REVIEW we have noticed that you have given figures of various commodities coming into Britain from Israel. However, to date we have not seen any mention of the commodity we have been importing for the last nine months, namely sisal twine.

Being an old established firm of importers and exporters of all types of packing materials and various other commodities, we were approached by Israeli manufacturers to see whether there was a possibility of importing Israeli packing materials to

Britain. On sounding our contacts in Britain we felt the venture worth a trial, and an initial order was placed. Since then, larger and increasingly frequent consignments have been delivered. The twine is of high quality and up to British Standard in every way, and has been praised by many of the large concerns and merchants who have purchased it in some quantity.

Having made a careful study of the market both in Israel and here in Britain, we find that, if negotiations are made in a businesslike manner, and the old idea held by some people that Israel is merely a deserving charity is discarded, there is a wide field for expanding trade between the two countries.

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BROADCASTS FROM ISRAEL

Wavelength 33.3 metres

Fri, 18th August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Our Correspondent Reports, 9.30 Sabbath Programme, 9.44 News Headlines.

Sat, 19th August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Round and About, 9.35 Cantorial Music—Mordechai Hershmann, 9.44 News Headlines.

Sun, 20th August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Heritage: Religious Life in the Army, 9.44 News Headlines.

Mon, 21st August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Newsreel, 9.35 Songs by Bygone Days, 9.44 News Headlines.

Tues, 22nd August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Commentary, 9.30 A Visit to the Jewish Agency's Summer Institute, 9.44 News Headlines.

Wed, 23rd August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 From East to West: Personal Greetings and Record Requests, 9.44 News Headlines.

Thurs, 24th August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Literature in Israel: K. Zetnick—Chronicler of Auschwitz, 9.35 Easy Hebrew Conversation with Yehuda Goodman.

Jewish Observer AND MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

NEW YEAR GREETINGS

*We invite our readers to insert their
NEW YEAR GREETINGS in a special
NEW YEAR issue of the JEWISH OBSERVER to be
published on September 8, 1961. Would you please use
this form and forward it together with your remittance.
(10/- for 30 words, 2/6d. for every additional 6 words.
Display advertisements £2 per single column inch).*

NOTE : LAST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF GREETINGS IS SEPTEMBER 1, 1961

To the Advertising Manager,

Jewish Observer and Middle East Review, 77 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1

Please insert the following Greeting in your New Year Number for which I enclose

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*Name.....
(BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE)*

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TEXT OF GREETING

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JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.I. Hyde Park 2286/7

THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGN: THE PROSPECTS

AN AUGUST PICTURE OF LIGHT AND SHADE

With the holiday season upon us and large numbers of people away in search of the sun, some serious thinking has been taking place at J.P.A. executive meetings on the progress of the current campaign. For this is the time of year when we are able more exactly to forecast how the annual effort will end.

The over-all picture has been one of light and shade. Many committees have held on to their gains registered in last year's record campaign, notably some well-organised London groups and the trade committees. Elsewhere, results have slipped, and it is the intention of the administrative committee to ask the officers concerned to strengthen the tail-end of their campaigns and bring in sufficient subscribers at least to enable them to honour their targets.

No seasonal greeting: This will not be the customary exhortation which J.P.A. supporters may feel is a kind of seasonal message from the executive. The approach to committee officers will be based upon important new developments principally in the field of immigration, that are reflecting severely on the housing picture in Israel. Dr. Giora Josephthal, Israel's Minister of Labour, told a delegation of American Bond drive leaders at the end of July that, despite the very large number of housing units constructed over the past decade, the erection of dwellings for newcomers remained at the top of the priority list.

We wrote previously in these columns of the scramble for capital now going on to enable the authorities to build homes; and a recent announcement told of seven million dollars being made available by Ampal, the American-Israel Corporation of New York, to the Jewish Agency and the national housing institution to finance house-building. It may not be generally realised that immigration is now reaching the peaks of earlier years in Israel's history.

Campaign to date: An analysis of this year's J.P.A. effort in Great Britain and Ireland give these results so far:

Total sum pledged: £1,568,000
 Total number of subscribers: 13,024
 Cash paid: £758,000

What do these figures indicate? In the

first place they signify that the number of contributors to the general Appeal (as opposed to the forthcoming Kol Nidre Appeal) is still not showing a perceptible increase. We have been bogged down to this total of subscribers for too many years for the J.P.A. to feel complacent about the dynamic of the campaign. It means, basically, that the same faithful supporters are coming forward each year in the same numbers. To their credit, they are not deterred by the fact that so many of their neighbours and friends stand aside, but the J.P.A. does not propose to allow this situation to continue.

Applause from wings: It was particularly hoped that this, the Bar Mitzvah anniversary of the State and a year which has seen striking technological achievements, not to mention another chance to bring many thousands from other lands to a haven, would have attracted many more of those who applaud Israel from the wings.

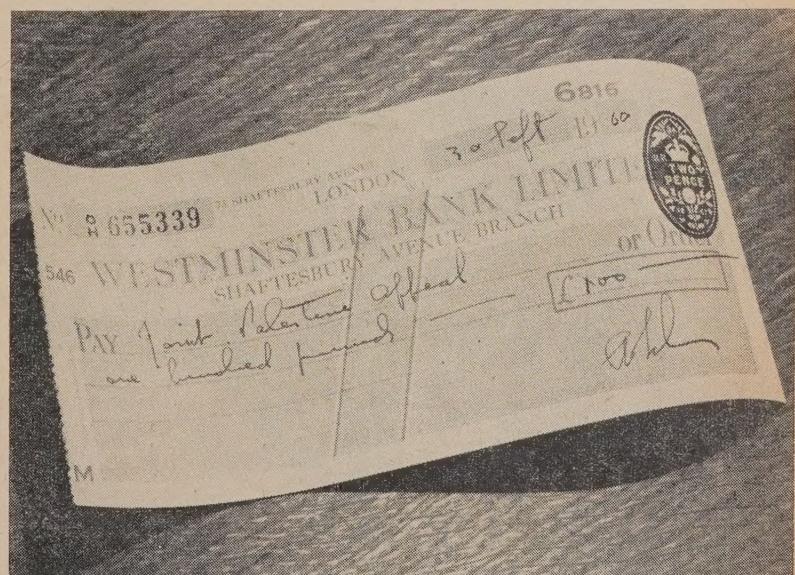
In this campaign we have already seen substantial improvements in appeal techniques. They are being followed by a

comprehensive survey of those industries in which there are at present no J.P.A. trade committees. Progress has already been made in this direction in the Toy trade, the Leather trade and, of course, in the Property group. Furthermore, it is expected to develop extra fund-raising activities among those members of the textile industry specialising in the field of men's wear.

The cash position as reported by the honorary treasurer also occasions some concern. This is the time of the year when it should be a matter of conscience for the contributor to fulfil his pledge and enable the J.P.A. headquarters staff to concentrate on the Kol Nidre appeal and the plans for next year. Outstanding pledges are obviously harmful to progress in Israel. But they also clog up administration in Great Russell Street and in the regional centres, because they entail additional clerical work in the sending out of reminders, which are a nuisance to writer and recipient alike.

Kol Nidre Appeal: On the Kol Nidre appeal, Harry Shine reports a good response to the approaches made to synagogue ministers and their boards of management. The Chief Rabbi's pastoral letter has undoubtedly roused local syna-

Continued on next page



A piece of paper that will help to house a new immigrant. The treasurer is waiting for more of them to come in.

J P A - J N F NEWS

gogue bodies into preparing what may well be the best ever Kol Nidre effort.

How then is this year's campaign likely to terminate? Given good results from efforts now getting under way in Southport, in Dublin, Swansea and in the Chemist trade, not to mention other

trades and districts where work has continued unbroken, we should come very near to equalling last year's £1,780,000 result.

We should not measure up to the times if we were to fall below this modest target.

ISRAEL WELCOME FOR YOUNGER COMMISSIONS

From Jack Leon

Tel Aviv:

Folk songs and dances were exchanged by Anglo-Jewish and Israeli youth when the members of the second Younger Commissions tour of Israel met a large group of local students at a reception given here by the Israel office of the British Zionist Federation only a few hours after their arrival at Lydda Airport last week.

The Israelis were members of the Tel Aviv branch of the Hebrew University Students Association. A few of the participants in the 1960 tour were among this year's visitors, including leader Trevor Chinn, and old friendships with the Israeli students, initiated on last year's tour and maintained throughout the intervening 12 months, were revived.

The Younger J.N.F. group was welcomed by Shlomo Temkin, director of the Tel Aviv office, and Woolf Perry,

deputy-chairman of the Keren Hayesod and ex-chairman of the Zionist Federation. Mr. Perry spoke of the way in which Trevor Chinn, in accordance with his family's tradition, had inspired his colleagues to undertake their important constructive work.

On behalf of the group, Mr. Chinn expressed appreciation of the welcome accorded them by the Israel office.

A special guest of honour among immigrants of British origin at the crowded function was 86-years-old Lewis Eisen, a founder and veteran resident of Karkur, the first settlement in Palestine started by United Kingdom Zionists nearly half a century ago. The alert octogenarian was president of the J.N.F. in Britain in the mid-1920's, having previously served as first treasurer of the Keren Hayesod in Britain in 1920.



Reception for Younger J.N.F. representatives. Shown here: the group's leader, Trevor Chinn, Shlomo Temkin, Woolf Perry and Lewis Eisen.



More tourists than ever this year visited Ein Hod, artists' colony in the Carmel range south of Haifa. Once a ruined Arab village, it has developed as a creative centre which has attracted Israel's leading painters and sculptors. In our picture Gertrude Kraus is at work in her colourful studio.

TREES FOR TOURISTS

Visitors to Israel invariably like to plant at least one tree with their own hands, and the Jewish National Fund has now established two additional sites for this purpose.

The first of these, in the Balfour Forest near Nazareth, is intended to attract Christian pilgrims who visit the ancient Biblical town, while the second has an up-to-the-minute significance, being near the Massua watchtower in the newly-reclaimed region of Adullam.

Over 10,000 tourists have now entered into the J.N.F.'s "Plant it Yourself" scheme initiated two years ago. The other planting sites are Biriya in Upper Galilee, the Martyrs Forest in the Judean Hills, the Sanhedria Quarter of Jerusalem and the Simhoni Forest on the Gaza border.

INDUSTRY'S TIMBER NEEDS

At their present rate of growth, the forests of Israel will yield 120,000 tons of timber annually within ten years, to save millions of pounds in foreign currency.

This was emphasised by Sharon Weitz, of the J.N.F. Afforestation Division, in a recent statement. He estimated that only 20,000 tons of Israel's current consumption of timber came at present from local sources. The country's annual requirement was 600,000 tons.

JPA - JNF NEWS

NEW J.N.F. DIARY OUT SOON

FULL BOX-HOLDER MAILING

Towards the end of next week, J.N.F. Head Office will begin posting off the new J.N.F. diary to 55,000 blue-box holders in this country and Ireland. This is the largest annual mailing of its kind, comprising the major part of Jewish households.

The diary is an essential part of Jewish family life, listing as it does all festivals, times of Sabbath and other calendar information required by ministers, communal officers and the synagogue bodies.

Contents: Coming as it does within the Barmitzvah year of Israel's establishment, the diary's editorial contents for 5722 illustrate the country's development over this period in a series of attractive graphs. These show the balance of trade, agricultural progress and the degree of self-sufficiency in food production. There is a comprehensive analysis of the immigration trend, with statistics shown progressively from 1882-1960. This section is completed with an up-to-date map.

Also among the diary's contents are brief articles on the Barmitzvah Forest and the landmark of 50 million trees planted since 1948. There are descriptions of special undertakings such as the Golfers project at Yodfat, and Mount Meron, which is of course associated with the Younger J.N.F. Commissions.

From the diary you will receive a comprehensive picture of the principal district and central functions due to take place in the coming 12 months, you may spot up a column of essential Hebrew terms and you may learn a little about the Korazin development scheme near Lake Tiberias.

A special edition of the diary is also produced in London for distribution to



Rosser Chinn. A letter to box holders.

box-holders in Canada.

President's letter: With the diary goes out a "thank-you" letter from the J.N.F. president to all those families and individuals who make a point of contributing something towards land development in Israel regularly throughout the year. In expressing his seasonal greetings to supporters of the Fund, Mr. Chinn reminds them how the movement ensures that the land is transformed into fertile soil.

"All Israel's development projects," he goes on, "depend first upon this work of soil reclamation, because the Jewish people inherited a land that lay neglected for many centuries. You have earned the gratitude of many unnamed thousands in the Jewish family who in raising the banner of nationhood have given cause for immense pride in all of us."

The J.N.F. Diary is distributed free. Its cost is covered by the advertising it carries and the contributions for the New Year sent in by many thousands in acknowledgment of its receipt.

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

E. LONDON: Mr. I. Simnia, 77 Lower Clapton Road, E.5, £5.0.0. Mr. A. Kutter, 67 Ilkburgh Road, E.5, £3.16.9. Mr. Gordon, 4 Barnet House, E.1, £3.0.0. Mrs. Liebenstein, 105 Downe Road, E.5, £2.10.0. Mr. Rubinsteink, 57 Durban Road, E.5, £2.8.0. Mr. L. Dr. Serks, 1 Goulton Road, E.5, £2.8.0. Dr. S. Chazan, 37 Toynebee Street, E.1, £2.5.6. Mr. L. Cohen, 28 Newick Road, E.5, £2.3.0. Mr. Harris, 14 Brune Street, E.1, £2.2.6. Mrs. Bushman, 141b Upper Clapton Road, E.5, £2.1.0. Mrs. Stern, 90 Nightingale Road, E.5, £2.1.0.

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